

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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MARCH 28, 1938

## Congress Wars Over Reorganization Plan

**Byrnes Measure Would Give President Authority to Overhaul Executive Branch**

### DICTATORSHIP CRY RAISED

**Supporters Claim Bill Would Promote Efficiency and Eliminate Much Waste in Government**

The fight against the reorganization bill "should receive the support of every American who wants to be sure that he can wake up mornings without finding that by presidential ukase his government has been transformed overnight into whatever the whim of an ambitious President has decided to make it." This is what the New York *Herald-Tribune* thinks of the proposal now being debated in Congress to overhaul the federal governmental machinery. The measure has been branded by other opponents as a step leading directly to dictatorship, fascism, totalitarianism, despotism, and a dozen other things. It has been compared by its critics to the attempt which the President made to reorganize the Supreme Court. The President is merely using reorganization as a camouflage to concentrate in his own hands more sweeping powers than he now enjoys, according to those who are fighting the measure tooth and nail.

### Bitter Fight

The truth of the matter is that a bitter fight has developed over the whole question of government reorganization—an issue which has risen time after time for more than 30 years. Those who are supporting the President contend that if action is not now taken, the federal government will continue to limp along on an inefficient and wasteful basis. They claim that no business would countenance for a minute the antiquated methods of operation which are in effect throughout the whole framework of the federal government. And yet the federal government is the largest single business in the nation. It employs more than 800,000 persons and spends in the neighborhood of eight billion dollars a year.

The President's committee which studied the whole question of government reorganization and made the recommendations upon which the present bill is based compared the executive branch of the government to the average farm. The farmer, starting with a house and barn, added a hen coop, a garage, a woodshed, a pigsty, a silo, a wing to the house, and a machine shed, as the need arose. In the same manner, new structures have been tacked on to the executive, with no foresight, no planning, no centralized control. The result is "that the work of the executive branch is badly organized; that the managerial agencies are weak and out of date; that the public service does not include its share of men and women of outstanding capacity and character; and that the fiscal and auditing systems are inadequate."

What is the nature of the reorganization measure which has raised such a controversy in the halls of Congress and throughout the nation? What changes in the federal structure would it make? Why are the opponents so bitter in their denunciation of it? Would the measure, if enacted into law, really alter the basic

(Continued on page 8)



FIRST BLOSSOM

GENOUREAU

## Bushido

Willard Price, in his book, "Children of the Rising Sun,"\* speaks of "Bushido," the Japanese spirit. It is a spirit of patriotism, of devotion to emperor and state, of willingness to toil or to die for the country. This spirit is a part of the life of the Japanese people. "Bushido," says Mr. Price, "is drilled into them from childhood up." "We have no counterpart for this in America," he continues. "We hear little about the 'American spirit.' But not a school day goes by without instruction in the 'Japanese spirit.' Even in the agricultural colleges, where education would naturally be technical, I could not get the headmasters from whom I sought information to talk of anything but 'Japanese spirit.' They evidently believed that if the student once acquired that, all his other problems would be simple."

It is unfortunate that we hear so little here of the "American spirit." It is neither necessary nor desirable that we seek to develop a spirit similar to that which inspires the Japanese. But we need an American counterpart. We need here a spirit of devotion to American ideals. These ideals differ from those of Germany or Italy or Japan. Everyone is thinking in those countries of national power and glory, of expansion and conquest. The individual is supposed to sacrifice his comforts gladly in order that the state may be mighty in war. In America we are trying to build a society in which individuals and families may be secure and happy; where all may have a chance to develop the powers within them; where there shall be equality of opportunity. It is a beautiful dream which never has been realized fully either here or elsewhere, but we are trying to bring our hopes to realization in this nation, and we are trying to do it through the processes of democracy. No dictator or no small group steers us toward the Promised Land. If our dreams come true, it will be through our united efforts.

But we can never truly serve this American ideal if we are too individualistic; if each one pursues his own interests without a care for the common good. We must be welded together by a patriotism which will be an ever-present source of inspiration, leading us to acts of public service. It is imperative that we develop that spirit if we are to build a great and abiding civilization. We may well ask whether we can permanently compete with other peoples if they live for their countries and we live merely for ourselves. Our patriotism should be nobler than theirs but not less intense; more unselfish and humane but sustained by a national purpose no less clearly defined. We have the resources, material and human, to build in this land a civilization such as the world has never known. We lack only purpose and unity and spirit and determination. Let a new American Spirit find form and voice in the schools of this nation and the battle to make the world safe for democracy will have been won.

\* "Children of the Rising Sun" (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, \$3)

## New Danger Spots in Europe Spread Alarm

**Polish-Lithuanian Dispute Raises Old Issue Again; War in Spain Enters Crucial Stage**

### IMMEDIATE CLASH AVERTED

**But Threat to Peace Remains as Dictatorships Succeed in Extending Power in Europe**

A number of history books, recently written, refer to 1931 as the "Terrible Year" because of the momentous events which occurred during that year. If the remaining months of 1938 are filled with as breath-taking developments as the opening months, this year will undoubtedly become known as the "Crisis Year." Since the beginning of the year, crisis has followed crisis, and each time the peace of the world has hung delicately in the balance. The world is today so filled with danger or crisis spots that an explosion, reverberating throughout the entire world, might occur in any one of a dozen corners.

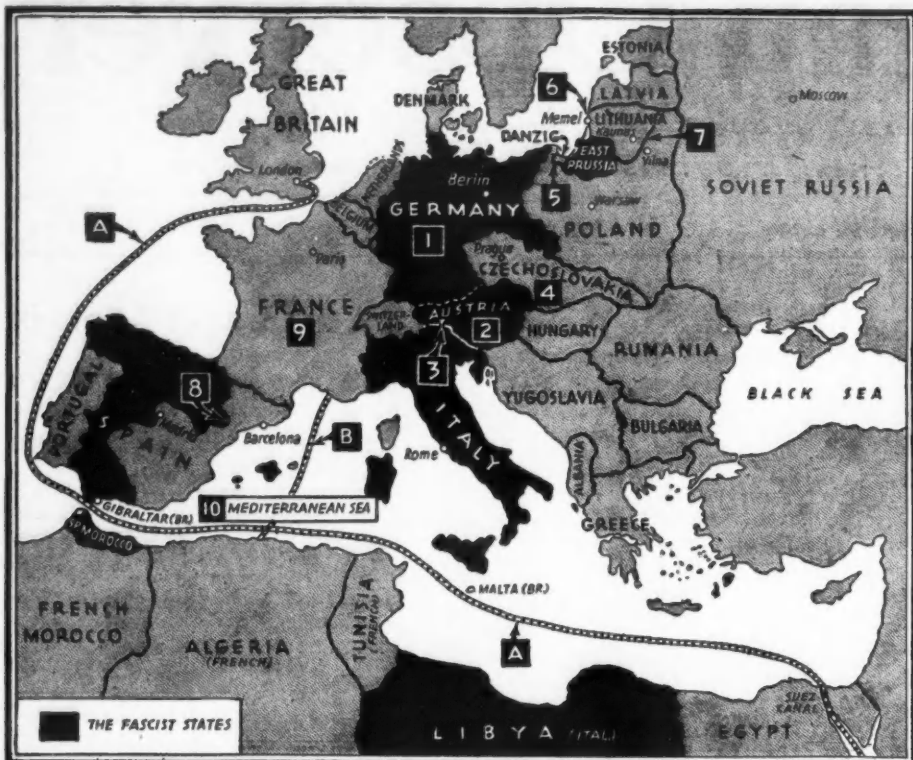
### Danger Spots

Before anything like calm had been restored following the Austrian episode, events began shaping themselves in several sectors of the European front, any one of which might have led to serious trouble. Eyes shifted from Vienna to Prague, which became a strategic center because of the unknown attitude of Hitler toward the future of Czechoslovakia. The German minority in that country, constituting nearly a fourth of the entire population, made demands for greater concessions. Reports came over the transatlantic cables that Hitler had demanded that the Czechs renounce their alliance with the Soviets. In London, the British cabinet attempted, unsuccessfully, to chart its future course on the sea of foreign relations, as public opinion became more and more restive over the question of coming to terms with the fascist dictators. In Rome, Mussolini bestowed his blessing upon the Austrian annexation. In Paris, the Blum cabinet renewed its promise to come to the rescue of Czechoslovakia in case of a German attack upon that country. Throughout the continent, from Moscow to Athens, from London to Bucharest, nerves were shattered as the foreign offices worked late into the night seeking a formula to prevent the weakening thread of peace from suddenly snapping.

Because of their immediate dangers and their ultimate possibilities, the two regions which shifted to the forefront of world attention were Spain, where the civil war which has raged for nearly two years seemed to be entering a new, and perhaps final, stage, and Poland and Lithuania, where the Hitler technique of threatening force in order to win concessions was successfully applied. Every capital of Europe was afraid of the consequences of developments in these two regions located at the extreme ends of the continent.

While the immediate cause of the dispute between Poland and Lithuania was a border incident in which a Polish soldier was killed, the underlying cause was much more deep-seated. Lithuania and Poland have been at dagger points ever since the close of the World War. Both nations were creations of the Treaty of Versailles. Although Poland had enjoyed an independent existence in earlier periods of history, Lithuania had until 1918 been subject to





#### WHERE DRAMATIC SCENES PILE ONE UPON THE OTHER

COURTESY NEW YORK TIMES. ACME PHOTO

With Adolf Hitler as director of the drama, Germany (1), moving to the center of the European stage, has reduced Austria (2) to a province within the Reich, placed her troops at the Brenner Pass (3) on the Italian frontier, and now is turning toward Czechoslovakia (4), with its large German minority; Germany also has its eyes on Danzig (5) and Memel (6), which were separated from the Reich by the Treaty of Versailles. Uneasiness in Eastern Europe has also been increased over Polish-Lithuanian border differences (7). In Spain (8), the advance of General Franco's troops, supported by Germans and Italians, is endangering the strategic position of France (9), beset with internal difficulties; to strengthen France Britain has promised aid in the Mediterranean (10) in case of trouble; this would safeguard British communications with the East (A), as well as French communications with the French colonies in Africa (B). The picture at the right shows military activity in Kovno, capital of Lithuania.

the domination of Poland, Sweden, and Russia.

Friendly relations between the two nations have never existed since the close of the war. In 1920, a Polish insurgent, General Zelagowski, led an army which invaded Lithuanian territory and annexed a third of the nation, including the capital, Vilna. The Lithuanians were too weak to resist, having emerged from the bloody campaigns of the World War in a ruin even worse than that of Belgium. So pathetic was the country's financial plight during the early postwar years that in 1922 when a Lithuanian minister of finance traveled to Berlin to negotiate a loan, a nation-wide collection had to be taken to pay his fare.

From the days of the 1920 coup to the present, the threat of further conflict between Poland and Lithuania has loomed as a possibility. Lithuania has never accepted the loss of territory and still refers in its constitution to Vilna as the Lithuanian capital. There has been no intercourse between the two nations. Neither has had a diplomatic representative in the capital of the other. No train has crossed the border. No automobile has traveled the roads, now ridden with weeds from years of disuse. Mail from one nation to the other has been routed through a third country, where fresh envelopes have had to be used. Persons living along the border, within walking distance of one another, have been able to cross the frontier only by passing first through a third "neutral" country.

#### An Old Feud

The recent border dispute was used by Poland to bring an end to the old feud. The Lithuanians were told in unmistakable terms either to recognize Poland's title to Vilna, to restore normal diplomatic relations, to resume commercial relations, communications, and the like, and to comply with certain other conditions, "or else." Polish troops were rushed to the border to make the threat more impressive and for a while it looked as though war might be the result.

There was little for Lithuania to do but to accept Poland's terms. Lithuania is a small and impotent country. With an area smaller than that of West Virginia, it would have been suicidal to offer resistance to Poland. Her army is only a third or fourth the size of Poland's; her population only two and a half million compared with Poland's 34,500,000. She has only a few

industries and mineral resources. Lithuania is primarily an agricultural and fishing country of small farms, vast tracts of pine forests, and bleak sand dunes along her coasts on the shallow Baltic Sea. Her people, although imbued with a great love of homeland and one of the best educated in Europe, have suffered from 500 years of fighting in northeast Europe. While they have made great progress since the World War, they are no match for the superior might of their Polish neighbors.

#### Deal with Germany?

It was only this superior strength of Poland, with her powerful military machine, her wealth of such minerals as coal, iron, zinc, lead, potash, and oil, and her large industries—the very sinews of war—which made the Lithuanians comply with the Polish ultimatum. They are still smarting from the humiliation and the threat of extinction by the use of force. And while it appears that the Poles have been temporarily appeased by the acceptance of their terms, there is still agitation for the complete annexation of Lithuania. Outwardly, the two nations may appear to enjoy peaceful relations; fundamentally, their differences are still as great as they ever were.

There is still another reason why Lithuania must be regarded as a danger spot of Europe. Her only port is Memel, with a population of 150,000, most of whom are Germans. Time and again, Germany has insisted that these Germans belong under the Nazi flag. At the time of the annexation of Austria, Germans in Memel paraded through the streets shouting, "It's our turn now!"

At the time of the Polish-Lithuanian crisis, there were rumors to the effect that Germany had struck a bargain with Poland concerning Lithuania. If Poland had Lithuania, it was argued, she would have an opening to the Baltic through the port of Memel and would no longer need Danzig and Gdynia, the two ports located in the Polish Corridor, the thrust of Polish territory which splits Germany in two, separating East Prussia from the rest of the Reich. Germany has always insisted that the Corridor should be returned to the Reich. Reports that Germany had agreed to back Poland against Lithuania in exchange for the return of the Polish Corridor to Germany have been emphatically denied; nevertheless the possibility of settling the issue of the Corridor in this particular way has been considered several

times during recent years. The execution of a plan of this kind would have had serious consequences throughout Europe, for it would have led to increased power for Germany and Poland. It was only to avoid more serious consequences, it is reported, that France and England and Russia prevailed upon the Lithuanians to accept the terms of Poland's ultimatum.

#### The Spanish War

As we turn to developments at the other end of Europe, we find that the Spanish civil war entered what appeared to be its most crucial stage. Many predicted that it was the final stage, as General Franco launched a determined drive to bring the loyalists to their knees by driving a wedge through to the Mediterranean and splitting loyalist territory in two. For more than 20 months, the insurgents have been battering away, adding to their territory a slice here and a slice there. Today they hold more than two-thirds of all Spain. The Biscayan coast in the north and the entire western side of the country are theirs. From the beginning they have been on the offensive. Their only major setback has been at Madrid, which they have nearly taken on several occasions but which still remains in loyalist hands.

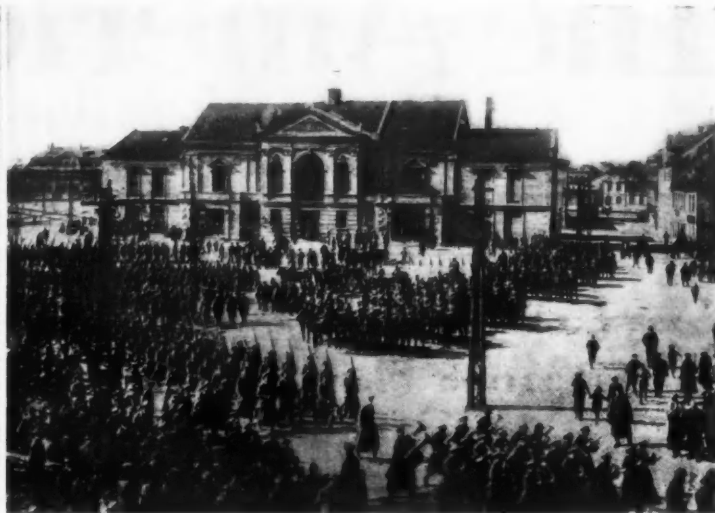
Early this month, General Franco launched an army of 100,000 men in the most intense attack of the entire war. His massed artillery literally blasted loyalists out of their lines while swarms of small, fast tanks drove wedges into the weaker spots of the loyalists' defense lines. From the air, squadrons harassed the dismayed troops. The thrust eastward brought the insurgents within 45 miles of their goal, the Mediterranean, and it appeared that the game was up.

#### Barcelona Bombed

In order further to weaken the loyalists, the Franco forces made air attacks upon the civilian populations of several towns, particularly Barcelona, the loyalist capital. Wave after wave of huge German and Italian bombers roared over Barcelona, dropping tons of high-explosive bombs, some of them weighing over a thousand pounds each. The havoc wrought was terrible beyond description. Human beings going about their business in the streets were mowed down; large buildings were shot to pieces; street cars and buses crowded with people were blown to bits. The streets were filled with fragments of granite, broken glass, and what once had been human beings. For a description of the horror and tragedy of the air raids, we turn to an account in the New York Times by Herbert L. Matthews, who was in Barcelona at the time:

The account of what happened today is an unmitigated succession of horrors, and one feels so helpless trying to convey the horror of all this in cold print, which people read and throw away.

One comes back from the scenes dazed: men, women, and children buried alive, screaming in the wreckage of their houses like trapped



animals. I have never seen so many weeping women.

This bombing is meant to strike terror, demoralize the rear guard, and weaken resistance, because human beings are not built to withstand such horror. It is true they are striking terror, all right—terror that freezes the blood and makes one either hysterical or on the verge of hysteria. But then, too, one would not be human if it did not cause rage—deep, burning rage. These people would like to return the compliment. . . .

The city seems full of ambulances. There is a haze of smoke and the smell of dust everywhere. Broken windows, broken trees, broken lives—one almost feels as if everything in this tragic city had been broken except its spirit. . . .

It is surely the most savage and most ruthless punishment any modern city has taken. This is systematic destruction, designed to break the spirit as well as the body.

Even all this did not bring the war to an end, for after a few days the loyalists seemed to have pulled themselves together both in the cities and at the front. The loyalists sought reinforcements, in the way of military equipment, from France, but the Blum government held fast to the policy of nonintervention in the Spanish war lest it set the whole of Europe ablaze.

It appears to be a foregone conclusion at this writing that the insurgents will eventually win the war. Germany and Italy, which have already supplied them with troops, technicians, planes, tanks, guns, and all sorts of war equipment, intensified their activity on behalf of the insurgents in a drive to bring a quick victory to Franco. Rumors buzzed throughout European capitals that Italy and Germany had come to an agreement with respect to Spain; that Italian control of Spain was the price which Mussolini exacted for his acceptance of the German annexation of Austria.

From all the confusion reigning in Europe, the only thing that made sense was that the march of the fascist powers was continuing unabated. England faced the prospect of a Mediterranean dominated by a hostile power and the sea lanes to her overseas empire in jeopardy. France faced the same unpleasant prospect, with the further possibility of a hostile power at her southern border, which is relatively unprotected. And in the east of Europe, both nations witnessed in the capitulation of Lithuania to Polish demands another example of the effectiveness of the threat of force by a strong nation as a means of achieving national goals.

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# AROUND THE WORLD

**Japan:** The national mobilization bill, the subject of a bitter six-week debate in the Japanese diet, has finally been passed. Drawn by the government after consultation with the army's planning board, the measure gives the cabinet comprehensive powers over every phase of the nation's life in time of war or other incidents. The phrase "other incidents" was included to cover the current war with China, since officially no state of war exists between the two nations.

But it is precisely because of the inclusion of this phrase that the measure met with strong opposition in the parliament. The political parties contend that the government, making use of the term "other incidents," might employ the powers granted it even during times of peace, and demanded the measure be modified. But Prime Minister Fumimaro Konoye privately threatened the deputies with dissolution of the parliament, and so they yielded, contenting themselves with a recommendation that the government should not abuse its extensive powers.

The bill authorizes the cabinet to expropriate private property, control production and finance, and rigidly curb the press. It enables the government to outlaw strikes, to command forced labor, and to regulate wages. New industries may not be permitted to establish themselves, if the cabinet should so decide, and expansion or contraction of established firms will be subject to its approval. The measure virtually strips the Japanese parliament of all authority, leaving it merely the functions which the Reichstag has in Germany.

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**Mexico:** A long-brewing battle between British and American oil interests on the one hand and the radical government of President Lazaro Cardenas, on the other hand, came to a head a few days ago when the government seized control of the petroleum industry. It took this action when the 17 foreign companies, operating a \$450,000,000 industry, announced that they would not comply with the rules laid down by the Mexican labor board.

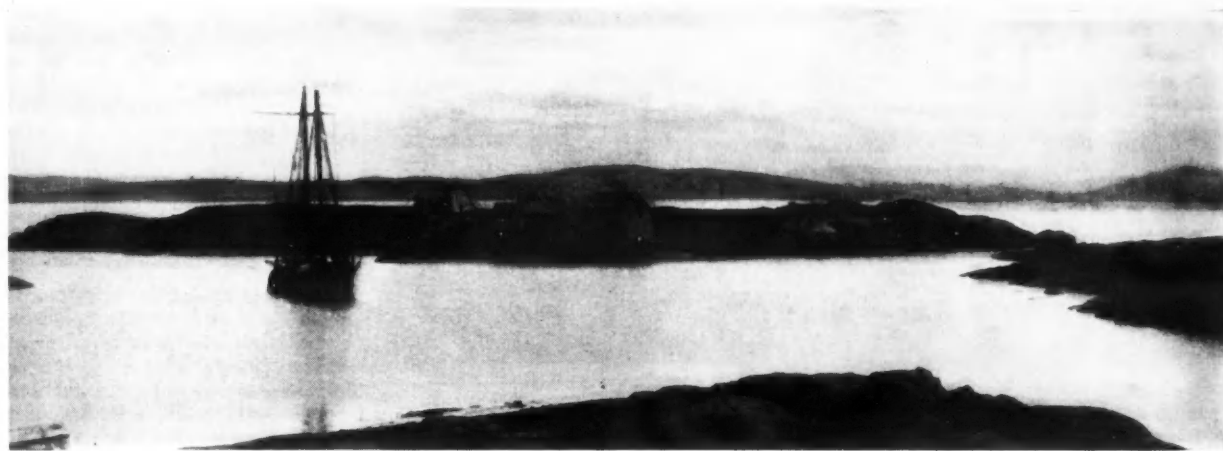
Following two years of strife between the oil operators and their 18,000 employees, the labor board, some time ago, had ordered the foreign companies to pay wage increases of \$11,000,000, to establish a pension system for workers, and to give workers a voice in management. The companies declined to do so. They argued that the pay increase would amount to three times as much as their annual net earnings, thus making operation impossible, and that to



W. W.

FRANCO CHEERS THE WOUNDED

In recent weeks the head of the Spanish insurgent forces has appeared more frequently in photographs coming from across the sea. General Franco is apparently preparing for the task of stabilizing Spain as soon as he has won the victory he anticipates.



GENOUREAU

A FISHING VILLAGE OFF THE COAST OF LABRADOR

give workers a share in management would hamper production. Their refusal to comply with the rulings of the labor board led President Cardenas to declare the companies "in rebellion."

In taking over the petroleum industry, the government finds itself somewhat embarrassed. Most of the oil produced in Mexico is for export. But since the firms whose properties have been seized own practically all the oil tankers now in the international oil trade, the government has virtually no way of shipping petroleum to buyers. As a result, the industry is now partially paralyzed and thousands of the workers are unemployed, and reportedly restive.

For this reason, it is believed in some quarters that President Cardenas will ultimately be forced to begin negotiations anew with the British and American firms. But at the time of writing, there was no indication of this. On the contrary, labor forces in the land began to agitate for the government to take over the mining industry, also in foreign hands.

\* \* \*

**Brazil:** The fascist "plot" which President Getulio Vargas unearthed last week, in time to deal it an effective blow, deserves comment for the light it throws upon the grain of the present Brazilian regime. It serves particularly to suggest that fears of a growing totalitarian movement in South America have been somewhat exaggerated.

These fears had fed upon isolated incidents. Observers last year were quick to note the steady stream of propaganda from Germany and Italy through every available channel. Long-beamed radio stations in Milan and Berlin broadcast continuously for the benefit of Brazilians and, of course, no opportunity was missed to portray the prosperity which supposedly had been achieved in the two countries under dictatorial rule. Particularly ominous, in the view of these observers, were such instances as that of a newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, the capital, carrying a full page of Hitler photographs, while a single small photograph of President Roosevelt was placed in an inconspicuous corner. As for Vargas himself, there appeared no doubt where his sympathies lay, in view of the fact that he not only tolerated the growing Nazi movement, the Acao Integralista, but fraternized with its leader, Plinio Salgado.

When, therefore, Vargas himself engineered a coup last autumn and rewrote the oft-revised constitution, the belief was general that Brazil had gone the way of European dictatorships. But subsequent events have not borne out that view. Far from yielding to either Fascist or Nazi pressure, Vargas forced the Acao Integralista, with its membership of a million, to disband, and outlawed its political activities.

He appointed Oswaldo Aranha, formerly his ambassador at Washington, as foreign minister, a gesture that is regarded as distinctly friendly to the United States in the light of Aranha's comparatively democratic sympathies. That Vargas has now crushed a fascist "plot" indicates that he has definitely rejected more cordial relations with European fascist states. Whether there actually was a plot is of no importance. There may or may not have been an effort to overthrow his government. But in taking strong measures against the Acao Integralista and in tracking down its leader, Vargas discloses himself as merely a typical Latin American dictator whose occasional flirtations with European movements are merely part of the strategy which any dictator must use in the supreme effort to keep his job.

\* \* \*

**Newfoundland** Caught in the worldwide depression that began in 1930 and forced, as a result, to abandon her parliamentary rule, Newfoundland has been governed since 1933 by a British commission and has not been having an altogether happy time of it. The commissioners came to the island's capital, St. John's, with a five-point program designed to restore its finances and set it on the road to recovery. But most of the program, in the words of one observer, is in a "state of suspended animation," with the suspension particularly apparent.

Newfoundland's chief problem concerns her fishing industry. The great majority of the 300,000 inhabitants are engaged in fishing. But since they can work at this only four or five months of the year, what they earn during that period must suffice

for the remainder. The difficulty is that it does not suffice so that many have to have recourse to the small relief allowances of a depleted treasury. The commission sought to work out a plan whereby the fishermen, during the idle months, might find jobs on cooperative farms or in other cooperative enterprises; and with the example of the Scandinavian countries in mind had hoped to make a success of this project. The first effort proved to be a failure. Three similar projects, on a less ambitious scale, have now been started, and it may be said that these have greater promise of success.

What has helped to prevent thorough demoralization of Newfoundland's economic structure has been the huge increase in iron ore exports, the demand for which has been stimulated by British war preparations. It is fortunate for Newfoundland that she does not have much of a problem on the Canadian mainland which she controls. There are only about 4,000 people living in this territory and a good many of them are fur trappers who manage to make a living.

\* \* \*

**Czechoslovakia:** With Austria now rather thoroughly digested and her union with Germany accepted as a fact by most governments, Chancellor Hitler has turned his attention to Czechoslovakia. In Prague, the capital, it is reported that the Nazi dictator has offered to arrive at a settlement with the Czech republic on the basis of only two conditions: that it renounce its pact with Soviet Russia and that it fit its economic life to the needs of Germany. Among certain Nazi leaders, there is talk of making Czechoslovakia a part of a still larger Germany, to be reorganized as a federal state.

There was doubt that Czech leaders would be willing to accept these terms, which would make their country subservient to Berlin. Nonetheless, there remained the possibility that unless Great Britain gave definite assurances of coming to her aid in the event of German aggression, Czechoslovakia might decide that the prudent course would be to accept the German offer to negotiate their differences.

\* \* \*

The recent cabinet changes effected by Premier Kalman Daranyi of Hungary have given rise to reports that the government would now seek to establish more cordial relations with Germany, thereby replacing Italy as a close ally.

\* \* \*

After an extensive tour through Europe, during which he consulted with prominent European politicians, former President Hoover gave it as his opinion that there will be no European war in the near future.



ACME

THE GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER

Joachim von Ribbentrop, ardent Nazi who some time ago replaced the more moderate Constantin von Neurath. He was recently sent to London to negotiate with the British, but hastily returned to Berlin after the Austrian coup.



MR. HULL DEFINES AMERICAN POLICY

As the secretary of state delivered his important statement on foreign relations before the National Press Club.

## FDR vs. Morgan

President Roosevelt has asked Chairman Arthur E. Morgan of the TVA board of directors to resign, or to face removal by executive action. Chairman Morgan has indicated that he will not resign, and that he will contest the President's right to remove him.

The stalemate between the President and the TVA chairman came after a series of three conferences. Asked by the President to present evidence to back up the charges that the other two directors of the TVA, Harcourt Morgan and David Lilienthal, had violated honesty, decency, and fairness in their handling of TVA matters, Chairman Morgan refused to answer. The presidential investigation, he said, was not adequate; he insists that Congress should hold an investigation. Then, he says, he will speak.



W. W.

### COTTON FARMERS VOTE

On the question of marketing quotas, as provided for in the new Agricultural Adjustment Act.

Chairman Morgan will probably get the congressional investigation for which he has been asking. Ever since he made the first charges against his fellow directors, and since they replied by accusing him of sabotaging the work of the TVA by not accepting the decisions of the majority, both houses of Congress have held intermittent debate on the need for an investigation. The present turn of events seems to make it certain the investigation will be held.

The situation between the President and Chairman Morgan now becomes a legal question. Does the President have the power to remove Chairman Morgan? If the chairman stands by his original declaration, he will carry the fight to the courts.

## Navy Bill Passes

The House of Representatives approved the increased naval armaments program last week, practically as President Roosevelt suggested it. The bill, which authorizes the

construction of warships, auxiliary vessels, and airplanes costing almost one and one-quarter billion dollars, was favored by 292 congressmen and opposed by 100. The vote came after more than six weeks of discussion in committee hearings and on the floor of the House.

Now the bill must go to the Senate, where it is expected to meet sharp criticism from members who oppose the President's foreign policy—as outlined recently by Secretary Hull and quoted in another article on this page. As in the House of Representatives, the question in the Senate will probably be: How is a big navy to be used? Does the United States intend to protect its own shores only? Does it intend to protect North and South America against aggression? Does it intend to go into the Far East and Europe to protect its trade, possessions, and citizens there? These important questions will be given a thorough airing when such senators as Borah and Johnson start firing at the bill from the floor.

## AAA at Work

Cotton and tobacco farmers have voted in favor of limiting the amount of this year's crop which may be sold, in accordance with the provisions of the new farm act. In all the cotton and tobacco states, the growers went to polling places in country stores, court-houses, and schools. Because more than two-thirds of those who cast ballots consented to the restrictions, the Department of Agriculture will determine how many bales of cotton and how many pounds of tobacco may be put on the market following this year's harvest. Each farmer will be given his allotment and each must comply, whether he voted for the plan or not or refused to vote at all.

If there is a large crop of tobacco and cotton, not all of it will be placed on the market. The government will lend farmers money to enable them to store the surplus in excess of their quota. If a farmer violates the restriction and sells more than his share, he will be taxed two cents a pound for the excess cotton he sells, and 50 per cent of what he receives for the tobacco sold in excess of the quota.

By applying this restriction on marketing, the government hopes to prevent cotton and tobacco prices from slumping. It is expected that the quota for the entire nation will be 850 million pounds of tobacco and 10½ million bales of cotton. Last year's cotton crop was 18 million bales. A similar vote to restrict marketing will be taken later this year among farmers who raise wheat, corn, rice, and other farm products.

## Foreign Policy

Recently Secretary of State Hull again made it clear that the Roosevelt administration favors a policy of cooperating with peaceful nations against aggressors. In a world-wide radio address, Mr. Hull expressed the opinion that the United States cannot expect to protect itself against war by crawling into its

shell. On the contrary, he said, we must work with peace-loving nations to check militarism if we are to remain permanently at peace. To allow nations to seize large areas of territory at their will, to let them destroy our interests, and to ignore our rights in other lands, Mr. Hull continued, can serve only to encourage disregard of law and to spread anarchy and chaos throughout the world.

"The catastrophic developments of recent years, the startling events of the past weeks, offer a tragic demonstration of how quickly the contagious scourge of treaty-breaking and armed violence spreads from one region to another," he said.

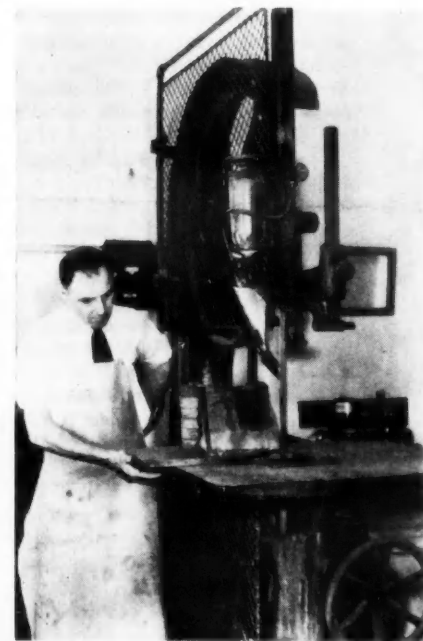
The momentous question before us, according to Mr. Hull, is whether force is to rule the world, leading to barbarism and anarchy, or whether peaceful nations, working singly and together, can promote and preserve law, order, morality, and justice as the unshakable bases of civilized international relations.

Those who disagree with Mr. Hull on this issue sharply criticize his speech. They say that the peaceful nations of Europe—England, France, and Russia—could check aggression without our aid if they were willing to work together and take a forceful stand. The fact that they have not cooperated with one another and that each one has been looking out for its own selfish interests is all the more reason why we should not become involved in their troubles and their wars. The only sane policy for America to adopt, the argument continues, is to determine above all else to remain at peace and to take advantage of our geographical position to keep aloof from a war-mad world.

## Human Engineering

"What vocation shall I select?" Probably no question puzzles more boys and girls than this one. Usually circumstances dictate the answer, with very little regard for abilities and aptitudes, likes and dislikes.

One of the agencies which is working to help young people select vocations wisely is the Human Engineering Laboratory at Hoboken, New Jersey, conducted by the Stevens Institute of Technology. For years the Laboratory has been investigating methods by which a person's abilities can be determined. From its experiments, the Laboratory has evolved a series of tests which, it claims, show each person's weak and strong points. From the results of the tests, the directors of the Laboratory recommend general fields in which the person is most likely to be successful. They do not try to select special vocations; they do not advise an individual to become a dentist, a hardware merchant, or a sailor. But they



ROCK SLICER

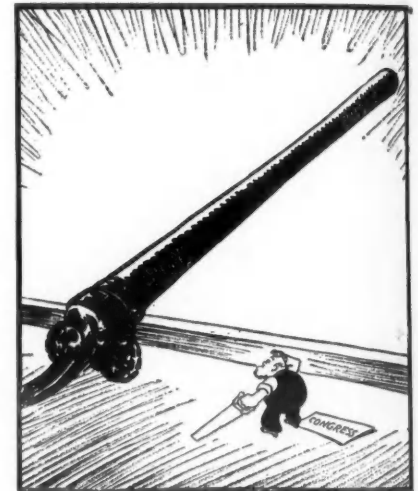
A butcher's knife cannot slice meat with any greater ease than this powerful saw clips off a slice of rock. It is operated by the U. S. Geological Survey and is useful for microscopic examinations.



Some weeks ago Pan American Airways asked airplane manufacturer Boeing to design a new airplane for the transatlantic. This is the drawing of one proposed by Boeing, with a cruising speed of 300 m.p.h.

do claim that a boy who shows special skill in their "third dimensional" test, for instance, is more likely to succeed in engineering, architecture, or surgery than a boy who makes a low score on the same test. The tests are designed to cover nearly every field of general activity.

Each year several thousand persons come to the Laboratory. Most of them are boys and girls of high school age, concerned with



HOW LONG IS LONG ENOUGH?

MORRIS IN JERSEY JOURNAL

picking a vocation. Others are grade school children, whose parents are wondering what courses their children should follow in high school. Still others are businessmen who consult the Laboratory directors to correct difficulties in their work, or to find hobbies for their leisure time.

## Cherry Blossom Time

Within the next few weeks, Washington will be host to thousands of tourists, come to the capital especially to see the annual display of cherry blossoms along the Potomac River. Usually the "single flowering" trees come out during the first week in April, while the "double flowering" trees bloom any time between April 15 and May 1, several days to three weeks after the single trees have dropped their flowers. Probably no floral display in the country is more famous than the cherry blossom pageant. Special trains are run to Washington from cities hundreds of miles away; the railroads, bus companies, and airlines have special excursion rates for the event. Those who cannot visit Washington may be certain that they will see the trees in the news reels, because "cherry blossom time" is a favorite with the camera man.

The trees are 26 years old this spring. The first planting was presented to Mrs. William Howard Taft in March 1912, as an expression of good will from the Japanese government.



# the United States

## Doing, Saying, and Thinking



PICTURES, INC.

SKYHUT  
The new airplane for estimates and drawings of huge new planes to fly the  
everyday, could weigh 300,000 pounds, carry 120 passengers, and have a  
speed of 20 miles an hour.

Since then the orchard has been added to until it includes more than seven thousand trees. The blossoms are their only attraction, as they bear no fruit.

### Hospital Insurance

Nine years ago a group of school teachers in Dallas, Texas, organized to insure themselves against hospital bills. Like the great



ONE QUIET NEIGHBOR, ANYWAY  
SHOEMAKER IN MANCHESTER (N. H.) UNION

mass of American people, these school teachers made enough to support themselves, even to save a little. But in most cases, several weeks in the hospital would wipe out the savings and plunge any one of them into debt. So every month these teachers paid into a general fund. Then when one of the group had to go to the hospital, her bill was paid from the fund. The payments did not take all of the money which was paid in; the surplus was invested, and the interest on it turned back into the fund.

From this meager beginning, hospital insurance has grown to include more than a million persons. There are groups in 60 of the largest cities in the nation. Under most of the plans, each person pays in about three cents a day, which entitles him to 21 days of hospitalization a year. Because it appeals to the large class of Americans who can afford to pay a yearly premium of \$10 or \$15, but who cannot save enough to protect themselves from sudden emergencies, those interested in hospital insurance expect it to continue to grow rapidly in popularity. Some predict that the number will grow to 10 million within the next two years.

### Consumer Protection

More than 30 years ago, Congress passed the first Pure Food and Drug Act. Time after time efforts have been made to revise and strengthen the Act; amendments and new bills

have been on the verge of passing at several sessions of Congress, but always they have been blocked. Last year the Senate passed a food and drug bill introduced by Senator Copeland. It was a very weak measure—President Roosevelt called it a poorer bill than the one passed in 1906. An effort is now being made to revive the Copeland bill in the House of Representatives, with the hope that it may be strengthened and returned to the Senate for further consideration. It seems doubtful if the bill will get far in its course through the legislative maze. With elections coming up next fall, Congress is in a hurry to adjourn; along with many other important measures, the food and drug bill will probably receive scant attention.

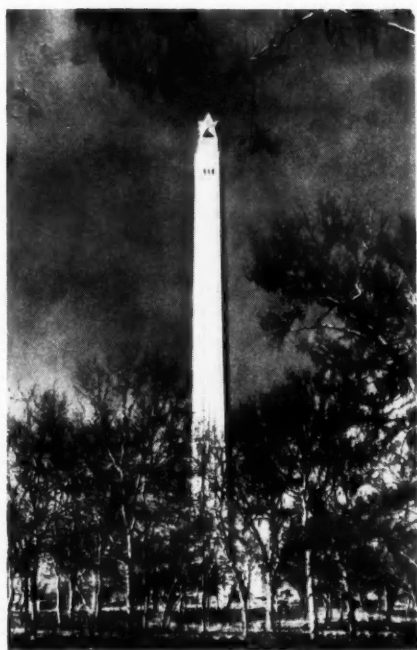
Recently Congress did pass an amendment to the Federal Trade Act which gives the government more control over advertising of foods, drugs, and cosmetics. Pure food and drug advocates have been campaigning for such legislation for several years; they believe that the new powers given to the Federal Trade Commission will do much to protect the nation's buyers from false and misleading advertising.

### Airship Plans

Several weeks ago Pan American Airways asked airplane designers to submit plans and estimates on airships to be used in transatlantic flying—bigger, faster, and safer than anything ever built. Five designers have already turned in their bids to Pan American, whose specifications called for a ship which will carry 100 passengers and 16 members of the crew, have a cruising speed of more than 200 miles an hour and a range of at least 5,000 miles.

The Seversky Aircraft Company was the only designer to make public its plans. Seversky's proposed ship exceeds the Pan American requests. It is designed to carry 120 passengers, housed in the wings of the giant plane, and to make the trip from New York to London in 14 hours. It would be equipped with staterooms, a dining room, a promenade deck, and a lounge. The liner would be motored with eight powerful engines and would be constructed so that it could be converted into a bombing plane capable of carrying a load of 6,400 pounds. Seversky estimates that it would take two years to build one ship, which would cost about seven million dollars.

Pan American may turn down all five of the proposals. In case it finds one which meets its approval, the company expects to order as many as 12 of the airliners. It hopes to inaugurate transoceanic service before foreign companies begin.



MONUMENT TO TEXAS

This 564-foot San Jacinto Memorial, which has been erected on the San Jacinto Battlefield, about 20 miles from Houston, to mark General Sam Houston's victory over the Mexican army in 1836. It was this victory which assured the independence of the Lone Star State.



NEW HAMPSHIRE—THE TURBULENT PEMIGEWASSET  
(From an illustration in "New Hampshire—A Guide to the Granite State")

## NEW BOOKS

**WILLARD PRICE**, a Canadian-American who has spent a number of years in the Far East, is one of the few writers who are able fully to understand foreign peoples; consequently, his books have a flavor all their own. His latest work, "Children of the Rising Sun" (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, \$3), tells more about the Japanese and the reasons for their present actions than a dozen normal accounts of Japanese politics.

The present book is the result of four years spent in different parts of the Japanese empire. Mr. Price tells the story of Japan's desperate struggle to feed herself by describing an individual Japanese farm and the problems of the farmer who must support his family on two acres. Overpopulation and a scarcity of arable land offer the clue to Japan's expansion of recent years.

Only part of the book is confined to conditions in Japan proper. One of the most valuable sections tells, in concrete terms, exactly what the Japanese are doing in Manchuria and what they have accomplished since they took over that Chinese province in 1931. He examines the possibilities of development in North China, Japanese activities in the Philippines, and Japan's position in world affairs.

One gains the impression that Japan is everywhere engaged in a race against time and economic forces. She has the greatest speed-up system on earth. In order to live, she is speeding up her industrial system at home and is struggling to industrialize Manchukuo in as short a time as possible. Her educational system has been revamped to meet the economic needs of the nation and is the greatest high-pressure system on earth.

\* \* \*

**FEDERAL** writers are busily turning out books under the Works Progress Administration. They have undertaken the task of writing guidebooks for each of the 48 states, as well as volumes on many principal cities, highways, and other points of interest. Illustrative of their work is the latest book to come from the press, "New Hampshire—A Guide to the Granite State" (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, \$2.50). Divided into five sections, this book tells everything that one would want to know about the New England state. The tourist who goes there will find details about the highways, motor regulations, scenery, historical places of interest, and sports.

For the person interested in living in New Hampshire, there is a wealth of material on its resources, industries, and agriculture. And for everyone—native and stranger alike—the book includes details about the government, the state's history, its arts and folklore. It might well be called an encyclopedia of New Hampshire, were it not for the fact that an encyclopedia is usually dry and cumbersome, while this book is not. And it can be dipped into at any point for interesting information. For example, the following general picture of

the state and its people is given in this book:

New Hampshire is a lumber-producing state, and its forest land is increasing in extent year by year. Tomorrow those forests will be farmed for trees as the fields on which they are encroaching were farmed for wheat and corn yesterday. It is a state of hundreds of ponds and of thousands of granite ledges. It is a state of remote farms, and of old villages of white-painted houses under high elms. It was a state of little industries, and the signs point to a return to those industries along its many rivers with water-power waiting to be harnessed to man's service. The gospel of work has been held to in New Hampshire. The gospel of laughter has not been forgotten. There is a right hardness on the side of New Hampshiremen with which they face the world. Among themselves and among those from elsewhere they have honored by adopting, they are the merriest of Americans. They are friendliness itself when you know them. They have a way of sticking to their purposes and to you when you have won



A FEUDAL CASTLE IN HIROSAKI, JAPAN  
(From an illustration in "Children of the Rising Sun")

their friendship. It is granite that holds longest after nightfall the heat of the sun.

\* \* \*

**DONALD** Culross Peattie attempts an unusual feat in "A Prairie Grove" (New York: Simon and Schuster, \$2.50). He has selected an island grove in Illinois, and made it the subject of a biography of an American acre. Compounding natural and American history, he describes the fortunes of this acre from the days when the French missionaries and explorers invaded it until modern man tamed it for permanent uses.

He divides the story into three parts. The first covers the days when only birds and animals ruled the woods on that acre. They gradually gave way to settlers, represented here by the Goodner family, who came by covered wagon and staked out a clearing for crops. The author's third treatment broadly covers the American way of life as it rooted and flourished on the frontier. Founded on historical fact, Mr. Peattie's book will have an appeal for everyone.—J. H. A.



## Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

### The Growth of Government Agencies

THE question of government reorganization, which has raised such a hue and cry during recent weeks, is one with which many Presidents and many Congresses have grappled, all unsuccessfully. Various plans for revamping the network of agencies and bureaus which comprise the executive department of the federal government have been afoot for at least three decades, but only a few regroupings and consolidations have been carried out.

#### Growth of Agencies

Nearly everyone agrees that the federal machinery is sadly in need of overhauling, but very few are in accord as to exactly what steps should be taken to make the agencies of government run more smoothly. The need for a sweeping reorganization springs from the fact that the federal government, in the early days a simple matter, has become one of the most complicated businesses on earth. The massive structure has grown with a consistent plan for the whole. As the government



DAVID S. MUZZEY

has assumed new functions, new departments and agencies have been established, until today there are well over a hundred different wings to the executive branch of the government. When the machinery of government was set up in accordance with the newly adopted Constitution, there were really only three executive branches: the Department of State, at first called the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Department of the Treasury, and the War Department. Although there was an attorney general in President Washington's cabinet, he presided over no executive department, and it was not until 1870 that the Department of Justice was organized. After the addition of the Navy Department, in 1798, no additions were made to departments presided over by cabinet officers for more than half a century. Starting with the Department of the Interior in 1849, the remaining departments were added at fairly widely spaced intervals: Agriculture (1862), Justice (1870), Post Office (1872), Commerce (1903), and Labor (1913).

While there were a few independent agencies in the federal governmental setup, the vast network did not spring into existence until relatively recently. During the 1880's, the country was swept by a wave of reform and Congress enacted a number of regulatory measures. Among the more important of the new agencies were the

Interstate Commerce Commission, whose main function was to regulate the nation's railroads, and the Civil Service Commission, established to eliminate, partially at least, the spoils system from government.

There were a number of important additions to the federal edifice during the Wilson administration, which inaugurated a number of important reforms. The Federal Reserve System was launched, placing the banks under greater governmental control than formerly. The Federal Trade Commission was born, to seek to eliminate unfair trade practices in industry. The U. S. Tariff Commission came into being.

Through the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover era a few additional agencies and bureaus were established, such, for example, as the Bureau of the Budget (1921), the General Accounting Office (1921), the Federal Power Commission (1920), the Aeronautical Board (1927), the Veterans' Administration (1930), the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (1932).

#### New Deal Expansion

The growth of governmental agencies was so rapid under the New Deal that an entire alphabetical labyrinth of agencies and commissions spread over Washington, with branches stretching over the entire country. Agencies to deal with the problems of relief, agriculture, labor, bank deposits, railroads, the stock market, social security, youth, alcohol, soil conservation, national resources, communications, housing, farm credit, have been set up.

That this massive structure has resulted in a great deal of overlapping and inefficiency few people would deny. Several agencies of government are frequently found to be doing the same type of work. Inconsistency is prevalent everywhere in the present setup. The War Department carries on many activities which have nothing to do with national defense, just as the Department of Agriculture does many things that have nothing to do with farming or the soil. As many as 10 or 12 different agencies are frequently found working with such problems as housing.

To make an orderly, businesslike organization out of the present confusion will entail a skillful operation. Congress has refused to perform the operation itself, because every time the question of reorganization comes up, congressmen's constituents are threatened by the loss of jobs and senators and representatives are reluctant to offend them, lest they suffer at the next election. Nor will it be an easy matter to effect the consolidations and eliminations and regroupings if the authority is passed to the President, for the whole setup has become so sprawling and so complicated as to make efficient reorganization a gigantic undertaking.



THE OFFICE SEEKERS

For many years job hunters have descended upon Washington seeking special favors through their senators or representatives. The above drawing was made during the Cleveland administration.



HOW DO YOU DEFINE PATRIOTISM?

(The above illustration is of the famous painting "The Spirit of '76," executed by A. M. Willare in 1876.)

## Something to Think About

### Test Your Emotions

How do you define patriotism? When you hear people talk about patriotism and patriots, do you ever stop to inquire exactly what they mean by the terms they use? Do you think there is general agreement as to the meaning of the terms? In order to get the matter cleared up in your mind, suppose you give consideration to the following types of people. Make up your mind which type is most deserving of being called patriotic:

**Type One:** This person talks a great deal about making America a stronger and more powerful nation. He always advocates larger armies and navies and wants the country to be able to defeat any other nation. He is proud of past victories in war and talks much about them.

**Type Two:** This man is always praising the Constitution. He wants everyone to hold it in veneration. He is also very particular that the flag be held in great respect. Much of his conversation is about the Constitution and the flag. If anyone speaks disrespectfully of either, he wants him to be punished.

**Type Three:** A businessman who has helped to develop a great industry. He is a fine organizer and, through his planning, an industry has grown up which gives employment to many people. He gives little thought, however, to general social conditions, and takes little interest in politics, except to look out for the welfare of his own industry.

**Type Four:** A labor leader who works untiringly for higher wages and for the improvement of living standards among workers. Like the businessman, he gives little attention to government or to politics, except insofar as the interests of his own class are concerned.

**Type Five:** A general who has led American armies to victory on the battlefield. He is widely acclaimed as a great national hero.

**Type Six:** An inventor whose inventions have contributed to the comfort and welfare of millions of people, a man such as Thomas A. Edison, Eli Whitney, or Samuel F. B. Morse. Assume that this inventor is not particularly interested in politics, government, or social conditions.

**Type Seven:** An individual, such as Jane Addams, who spent his or her life in the effort to improve the living conditions of the poor. This person, let us assume, is opposed to war and has no pride in military victories of the country.

Does any one of these types conform to your idea of patriotism? Which ones conform most nearly? What do you think you yourself could do to earn the title "patriot"? What are some of the things you should avoid in order that you may fairly be regarded as patriotic?

### Are You Sure of Your Facts?

1. True or False: Lithuania's existence as an independent nation dates from the end of the World War.
2. Name two agencies of the government which President Roosevelt would not have the power to reorganize even if the Byrnes bill should pass?
3. Most of the inhabitants of the port of Memel are of what nationality?
4. True or False: Secretary Hull, in his recent address, declared that the United States should adhere rigidly to a policy of isolation.
5. How did the city of Vilna figure in the recent controversy between Poland and Lithuania?
6. What concessions has Germany recently asked Czechoslovakia to make?
7. The greatest expansion of government agencies and bureaus occurred under the administration of which of our Presidents?
8. Getulio Vargas is (a) leader of the Germans in Czechoslovakia; (b) Lithuanian premier; (c) dictator of Poland; (d) president of Mexico; (e) commander of the Italian troops in Spain; (f) president of Brazil.

### Can You Defend Your Opinions?

1. If you were a member of Congress, would you vote for the government reorganization bill? Why?
2. Do you agree with the position taken by Secretary Hull in his recent address which was broadcast throughout the world?
3. What, in your opinion, is or should be the primary function of the American educational system?
4. Do you think it would be to England's advantage to declare in advance that she would go to war in case Germany should attack Czechoslovakia?
5. In your opinion, was President Roosevelt justified in taking the position he did in the Tennessee Valley dispute?

**REFERENCES ON SPAIN AND LITHUANIA:** (a) Peasant Republic on the Baltic, by Florence White. *Travel*, August 1937, pp. 20-23. (b) The Case for Franco, by I. D. Colvin. *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1938, pp. 397-402. (c) The Case for the Government, by J. Langdon-Davies. *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1938, pp. 403-408.

**REFERENCES ON GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION:** (a) Making Democracy Work, by Luther Gulick. *Survey Graphic*, March 1937, pp. 126-128. (b) Whipping a Dead Horse. *Nation*, March 19, 1938, pp. 317-318. (c) Earthquake in Washington, by D. E. MacGregor. *Nation's Business*, February 1937, pp. 21-22.

**PRONUNCIATIONS:** Zelagowski (zay-lah-gouv'skee—ou as in out), Vilna (veel'na), Lazaro Cardenas (lah'sah-ro kar'day-nas), Fumimaro Konoye (foo-mee-mah'ro ko-no'yay), Getulio Vargas (hay-too'lyo var'gahs), Rio de Janeiro (ree'o day' za-nay'ro—s as in azure), Plinio Salgada (plee'nyo sal-gah'da), Acao Integralista (a-sah-o' een-tay-grah-lees'ta), Oswaldo Aranha (o-svahl'do a-rahn'ho), Kalman Daranyi (kahl'man dahr-an'yee), Memel (may'mel), Danzig (dahn'tseek), Gdynia (guh-din'ya).



# Why Are You in School?

Are you in school or college merely to serve your own interests?

Are you going to school for the purpose of preparing to make more money or to have an easier life?

Or are you going to school partly in order that you may prepare to help others—to do something for your community or your country?

How much will your education cost the state?

Why do you suppose the public is putting up the money to pay for your education? Has it a right to expect something from you in return?

In what specific ways will the courses which you are taking help you to serve your community or your country better?

Can you suggest any needed changes in the nature of the work you are doing in school—changes which would result in your being better prepared than you now are to serve your community, your state, or your country?

What is education for, anyway? What is one supposed to get out of a high school or a college course? What are the objectives of education? These are questions to which teachers, principals, superintendents, college professors, and university presidents give much attention. But too often they are neglected by the students themselves. It is rather strange that this should be true. The students are the ones most immediately and most vitally affected by the work which is done in the schools. The nature and quality of the courses offered to them affect them deeply. Not only that, but students are supposed to have an interest in all the great problems of their time, and few problems before the public today are more important than the problems of education. What America will be like 25 or 50 or a hundred years from now will depend very largely upon the kind of education the young people of today and tomorrow receive in the schools and the institutions of higher learning. It would seem a natural thing, therefore, if the students themselves should give much thought to the nature and the quality of the education they are receiving.

There is another reason why students should think critically about the work they receive in school. It is this: If one is to get the most out of his work, he should know what the objectives of the work are. If he takes a course, he should know why he takes it. He should inquire what it is supposed to do for him. One cannot accomplish the best results if he follows along blindly, taking what is offered him without knowing why he is taking it or what the results of the work are supposed to be. A problem to which the student interested in his own education may well give his attention is the one asked at the top of this page: Are you in school merely to feather your own nest, or are you there, in part at least, in order that you may help other people and particularly that you may help your community or your country?

## Your Stake in Education

You want to do something for yourself, of course. You want to put yourself into a position so that you can earn a good living, so that you and those who depend upon you may be secure. You want to be able to earn for yourself and your family the comforts of life. You want to enlarge your interests and your understanding so that you may grow in happiness and general well-being. It is not only to your interest that you achieve those objectives, but it is to the interest of society that you do. It would be a very foolish thing for one to spend all his time thinking about helping others and yet not be able to pull his own weight in the boat. One way of helping society is for a person to be able to look after himself and those who depend upon him.

Suppose, however, that there is a conflict; suppose you find that you can make a living doing something which

does other people no good—do you have a right to do that? It is even conceivable that you might earn a living doing things which are injurious to other people. In that case, there is a clear conflict and you could scarcely argue that you have a right to do such a thing or to learn how to do such a thing merely because you would gain by it. Here is another case: Let us suppose that there is some course which you wish to pursue in school—a course which does not help you to play a useful part in society, but which you would nevertheless enjoy. Do you have a right to ask that the school furnish you an education of that kind?

Then here is something else to think about: You live in a democratic society. The way things go in your community, your state, or your country depends upon the wisdom with which you and other people do your work as citizens. If large numbers of people fail to study public problems, fail to take an active interest in the work of the community, the state, or the nation, things are likely to go badly. We are all affected by community and national problems. When industry throughout the country breaks down, it may be impossible for us to get jobs. When law is not enforced, our lives and our property are not safe. When the public health services are inadequate, we are not secure against disease. When the foreign policies are unwise, there may be unnecessary wars which will bring calamity to us as individuals and also to the nation. And so we might go on down the line, recounting ways in which we are all affected by the wisdom and efficiency of our local, state, and national governments.

## Your Debt to Society

Under these circumstances, does one not owe a duty to society to prepare himself to be as competent a citizen as it is possible for him to be? Is he not under obligation to use his years at school to the end that he may be better prepared to serve society?

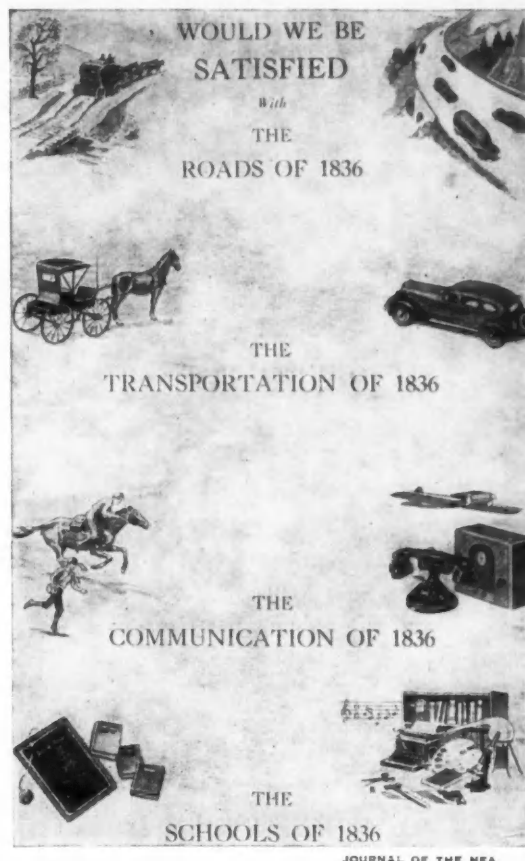
If one is inclined to think that, after all, this is his own business and no one's else, he should reflect upon this fact: Society pays for his education; his community provides him with schools, builds and maintains the buildings, employs the teachers, and in many places even supplies him with books. Does this not place the student under an obligation to do something for the community in return?

As a matter of fact, the burden upon the taxpayer who supports the schools is by no means light. It costs about \$650 to put a student through four years of high school. About a fourth of all the taxes collected in the average city and state goes to maintain the schools, and the taxes are so heavy as to be a serious burden to the taxpayer. The sacrifice of the taxpayer is, therefore, a serious matter.

The people, in supporting the schools for you, are thinking about your welfare, but they are also thinking about their own welfare.

They are thinking about the welfare of the community and the nation. The state supports the schools and gives young people the privileges of an education in order that the community and the country may be better places in which to live and earn a living. This is a widely accepted statement of the rightful objectives of the school. It has been called the "investment theory of education." The public invests in the schools in order that the whole country may be better off as a result.

The acceptance of this theory places an obligation upon teachers; upon those who determine educational policies—but especially upon teachers. They are supposed to teach the things which will accomplish more than anything else in the direction of preparing young people to serve their communities and their country.



Better schools cost more money. Is this a good investment for the state to make? It depends upon the way young people use their education.

Dr. Thomas H. Briggs, of Teachers College, Columbia University, one of the outstanding American authorities on problems of high school education, says that each teacher should ask the question, "Does this which I propose to teach promise more than anything else I can imagine to make these boys and girls better able and better disposed to contribute to the improvement of the society that makes this education possible and that entrusted me with the responsibility of making it effective?"

But the responsibility is not with the teachers alone. May the student not reasonably be expected to ask of each piece of work he does, "Does this which I propose to study promise more than anything else I can imagine to make me better able and better disposed to contribute to the employment of the society that makes this education possible?"

But now suppose you decide that some of the courses you are taking do not help very much toward putting you in a position to serve society; suppose you decide that you might better study other things than the subjects which are in your curriculum—what should you do about it? Certainly you should not start an agitation and cause trouble for your teachers. Remember that they are charged with the responsibility of arranging things in your school and must act in accordance with their judgment. You may, however, express yourself. You may and should try to prove your point that there should be changes in the curriculum, and you should use your influence as a citizen to change public opinion so that education for American citizenship may be more effective.

We need in America a rekindled patriotism. We need to study the meaning of democracy and then we should try to make that democracy work better. The American student should be as patriotic as the German or the Italian student is. He should be devoted to American ideals, as they are to German or Italian ideals. He should be as willing to serve American ideals as they are to serve the ideals of their countries.

## GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

(Concluded from page 8)

"All of it is in our hands now. Control over departments is ours now. Control over the budget is ours now. Control over the civil service is ours now. Control over the public spending is ours now. Vote it away, and neither you nor your children will live long enough to recover a particle of it."

Supporters of the measure argue that such charges are ridiculous. Most of them agree with the *Nation*, which states in a recent editorial: "The fact is . . . that the reorganization plan is nothing to get emotional about. There is very little that is new in it. Congresses have been talking about reorganizing the executive branch of the government for almost half a century . . . but no Congress has ever done very much about it. . . . The crucial fact, as Mr. Lippmann well points out, is that while Mr. Roosevelt had theoretically for a time almost dictatorial power to scramble the government bureaus, he made very little use of it. And the reason is that 'while in theory the bill may seem to give him enormous power; in practice it gives him a large collection of political headaches.'"

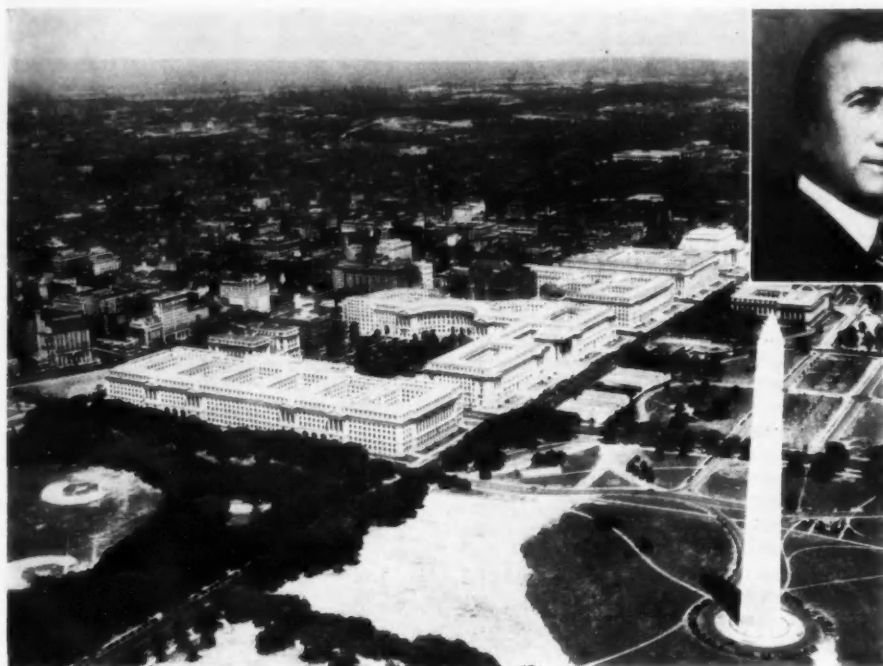


This is the way youths of Germany are taught to serve their country. How can the young people of America best serve their country and advance its ideals? (From an illustration in "Leadership in a Changing World," by Hoffman and Wanger. Harper.)



# The Battle on Government Reorganization

(Continued from page 1)



FAIRCHILD AERIAL SURVEY, H. & E., AND W. W. Senator Byrnes (left) and Senator Byrd (right) disagree on methods of reorganizing the huge federal government.

character of our American system of government? These are a few of the questions which have arisen during the last few weeks.

There is little dispute over the question whether the executive branch of the government should be reorganized. The real controversy arises over the particular method of reorganization that has been proposed. Opponents claim that the President and his supporters are merely using efficiency and economy as cloaks to hide their real intention, which is to usurp the powers of Congress and place unlimited power in the hands of the chief executive.

## The Byrnes Bill

The bill introduced early this month by Senator Byrnes has four main provisions, each of which is now under bitter attack. The first provision gives the President power to reorganize the agencies within the executive branch as he pleases. He may abolish them entirely, combine them, regroup certain bureaus and functions, enlarge or decrease their activities, reshuffle them in any way he sees fit. As a check on the presidential power, the bill provides that Congress may override any of the suggested changes within 60 days after the orders are issued.

Another check on the presidential power is found in the section which prohibits the reorganization of certain "independent establishments" as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Power Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the National Labor Relations Board, and the United States Maritime Commission. This group of agencies was most severely condemned in the report of the President's committee. They were called "miniature governments set up to deal with the railroad problem, the banking problem, or the radio problem. They constitute a headless 'fourth branch' of the government, a haphazard deposit of irresponsible agencies and uncoordinated powers. They do violence to the basic theory of the American Constitution."

Even these exemptions have not silenced the critics of the bill. It still gives the President power to do anything he sees fit with dozens of other agencies. Senator Vandenberg calls the measure a travesty, a snare, and a delusion. It is charged that the President will use his power not to make the executive more efficient, but to further his own personal fortunes and the fortunes of the Democratic party. He will abolish only those agencies which are not subservient to his will, it is claimed, and will give their functions to agencies which will use them only as the President dictates.

The second provision of the Byrnes bill deals with the civil service. It allows the

President to extend the civil service "upward, outward, and downward," to include the employees of many agencies not now selected under civil service standards. At present, only 64 per cent of the government's 800,000 civilian employees are chosen by civil service tests. The President could put practically all employees under civil service by using his powers under the new bill. Again the critics are skeptical of the President's intentions. They point out that under the Roosevelt administration the spoils system has run wild; that the percentage of employees hired by civil service methods has dropped from 89 to 64. Critics contend that the President's real intention is to make certain, by extending the civil service, that the Democrats in office will keep their jobs if a Republican is elected President in 1940.

Supporters of the bill retort that the growth of the spoils system during the last few years has been due not to the President but to Congress. Congress created the new jobs and in many instances Congress specifically provided for filling them outside the civil service. Besides, they point out, the rapid increase in government activities made it necessary to hire thousands of persons in a short time, and the Civil Service Commission was not equipped to meet the heavy demand.

## Job Dictator?

Another dispute has arisen over the proposal to substitute a single civil service administrator for the present three-man commission. For this change the argument is advanced that there is no more need to have three commissioners than there is to have three Presidents; that a single administrator can work more rapidly and more efficiently. As a check on the administrator a board of seven persons would be set up, to be composed of men and women not in the government service. The board would act as an advisory group.

Despite this safeguard, critics of the bill contend that the civil service provision gives the President power to create a huge political machine based on nearly a million jobholders. By manipulating tests and appointments, they claim, the administrator could make the civil service a farce. With the present three-man commission, there is always a representative of the minority party to make public any favoritism or partiality which occurs. Supporters of the bill contend that a similar check on favoritism and manipulation exists in the advisory board. They argue that the administrator will have to reckon with the board in all his actions.

One of the most controversial features of the Byrnes bill is the third provision, which deals with the office of comptroller

general and the General Accounting Office. The measure before Congress calls for the abolition of both of these. Their functions would be turned over to the Budget Bureau, and a new office, called the General Auditing Office, headed by an auditor general, would be substituted. The present office of comptroller general was created by Congress, and the man who occupies the position is

responsible directly to Congress. His business is to act as a watchdog for Congress, to see that money which is appropriated is spent as provided by law and not diverted into other channels.

It has been argued, in favor of change, that while the intention of Congress in creating this office was excellent, in actual practice the main purpose has not been accomplished. According to Walter Lippmann, writing recently in the *New York Herald-Tribune*, "Congress got nothing out of the comptroller except the illusion that it had a watchdog on guard. It never got any report from its own agent on what had really happened to its appropriations. All it has had was the meaningless knowledge that nothing had been spent which this one overworked and necessarily bewildered official had not approved."

The proposed new arrangement would have the Budget Bureau make a forecast of the needs of each of the executive departments. After Congress makes the appropriation, adding to or subtracting from the original estimates as it sees fit, the General Auditing Office would make reports to Congress on how the money is actually spent. In this way, Congress would have an immediate and thorough check on the executive. Many members of Congress, however, feel that the present system is adequate to insure the nation

against the misspending of public funds.

As opponents of the bill see it, the change would greatly weaken the check on expenditures which it now has through the comptroller general. The auditor general would examine or audit the expenditures after they are made. It is much more logical, it is contended, to have a check-up system which prevents illegal expenditures before they are actually made, rather than one which merely calls attention to illegal expenditures after they are made. It is like locking the barn door after the horse is stolen, in the opinion of many members of Congress. To which charge advocates of the change cite the example of the recent contention of the comptroller general that the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1934 misspent several million dollars. Here, they argue, the watchdog is barking four years too late.

## Department of Welfare

The fourth provision of the bill calls for the creation of a new department, the Department of Welfare, to be presided over by a cabinet officer. All government agencies dealing with public health and sanitation, protection of the consumer, relief, education, and old-age assistance, would be brought together, coordinated, under a single head. A National Planning Board would also be set up under this department to make plans and formulate policies for the development of the nation's natural resources—land, water, minerals, lumber, etc.

It is contended that such a regrouping is essential in order to promote efficiency of administration. Opponents of this feature of the measure argue that the new department would serve to further the political fortunes of the President, whoever he might be. This department would have two and a half billion dollars to spend and several million persons would be dependent upon it. The reply to such an argument is that the present arrangement offers far greater opportunity for the executive to promote his political aims.

Brushing aside differences of opinion as to the individual features of the reorganization bill, the central issue involved is this: Does the measure destroy the system of representative government which we know in this country, or does it lead to the smoother functioning of the democratic system? Opponents contend that it takes from Congress the power which it now enjoys. "All this power is ours now," declared Senator Bailey in his recent address.

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## Smiles

Mother: "I told you to count to 50, Tommy, before losing your temper. Now I find that you have locked little brother in the closet."

Tommy: "I'm still counting, Mother, and I want to have him where I can find him when I've finished." —AMERICAN BOY

Drapers: These are especially strong shirts, madam. They simply laugh at the laundry.

Customer: I know that kind; I had some which came back with their sides split. —BOY'S LIFE

"Well," replied the broker, "I'm going to get into my car, paste a picture of the New York Stock Exchange on the radiator, and drive until somebody says, 'What's that?'" —INVESTMENT DEALERS' DIGEST

"Didn't you find your dime, little boy?"  
"No, but me kid brudder found it."  
"Then what are you looking for?"  
"Me kid brudder." —BOY'S LIFE

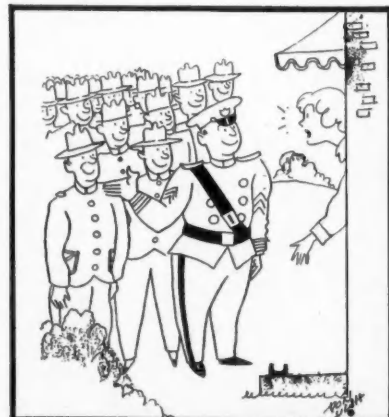
Angry Neighbor: "Didn't you hear me pounding on the ceiling?"  
Upstairs Neighbor: "Oh, that's all right; we were making a lot of noise ourselves." —EXCHANGE

Travel Agency Clerk: "We'd appreciate a statement about what you thought of our all-expense tour you took last summer."

Mr. Detourer: "Hmmm—it was well named!" —SELECTED

The princesses of Albania, reported here to find wealthy husbands, may have been chagrined to learn that 60 families were all they had to choose from. —SELECTED

Stranger: "Can I get a room for three?"  
Clerk: "Have you got a reservation?"  
Stranger: "What do you think I am, an Indian?" —FRIVOL



"WELL, HERE WE ARE. I GOT YOUR NOTE REQUESTING MY COMPANY AT DINNER."  
—ULSH IN AMERICAN BOY